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Message Text

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22-12
ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 AF-06 ARA-06 EUR-12 NEA-10 /103 W
---------- 118656
R 130820Z NOV 75
FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1718
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY MANILA
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L KUALA LUMPUR 6655

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UN US KS
SUBJ: TERMINATION OF U.N. PRESENCE IN KOREA

1. WITH PASSAGE OF BOTH RESOLUTIONS ALMOST CERTAIN, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE ANNUAL KOREAN CONFRONTATION IN THE UNGA WILL END IN A STAND-OFF. WE HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE TERMS OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION, AND THERE SEEMS NO CHANCE THAT THE DPRK AND PRC ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE ON OUR TERMS. WE ARE CAUGHT BY THIS STALEMATE IN WHAT HAS BECOME A THIRD WORLD TARGET AREA, AND THE DPRK AND THE PRC HAVE NO REASON TO HELP US ESCAPE. UNLESS WE DO SOMETHING, WE WILL BE AGAIN AT GROUND ZERO WHEN ALGERIA AND ITS FRIENDS RESUME THEIR BOMBING RUNS IN THE 31ST UNGA SESSION.
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2. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE UN CONNECTION HAS BECOME NOT ONLY
A LIABILITY TO OUR KOREAN POLICY, BUT ALSO DAMAGING AND
DEVISIVE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH MORE MODERATE THIRD WORLD
COUNTRIES WHO ARE FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN US AND THEIR
NON-ALIGNED COLLEAGUES IN A CONTEST THAT WAS CLEAR FROM
THE OUTSET WOULD PRODUCE NO POSITIVE RESULT. SOME FORMULA
TO END THIS SITUATION IS CLEARLY NECESSARY.

3. THE TWO RESOLUTIONS THAT WILL HAVE UNGA APPROVAL ARE
IN AGREEMENT THAT THE U.N. COMMAND SHOULD END. THE QUESTION
IS HOW. WE HAVE MADE AS A PRE-CONDITION A SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE
FOR THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. LEGALISTIC NICETIES WOULD BE
ACCOMMODATED BY SOME U.N. SPONSORED AGREEMENT, BUT THIS IS
APPARENTLY NOT ATTAINABLE. IS IT NECESSARY?

4. A DISTINCTION SHOULD BE MADE BETWEEN THE MILITARY
CONDITION OF THE SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES, AND THE ARMISTICE
AGREEMENT. THE FORMER RESTS ON A ROUGH BALANCE OF MILITARY
POWER BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH, AND A COMPARABLE
BALANCE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY RESTRAINTS
EXERTED BY THE ALLIES OF THE TWO REGIMES. THIS IS THE
SUBSTANCE. THIS IS WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO PRESERVE.

5. THE UNITED NATIONS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS CEASED FOR
SOME TIME TO FIGURE IN THE OBJECTIVE FACTORS WHICH MAINTAIN
PEACE ON THE PENINSULA. IT HAS ABDICATED ANY RESPONSIBILITY
FOR THE ARMISTICE, AND WITH ITS PRESENT MEMBERSHIP WOULD
BE MORE LIKELY TO SIDE WITH THE NORTH THAN WITH THE SOUTH
IF HOSTILITIES WERE TO RESUME. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY
THAT ANY OF THE FIFTEEN NATIONS THAT STOOD WITH US UNDER
THE U.N. FLAG IN 1953 WOULD RETURN TO KOREA UNDER SUCH
CIRCUMSTANCES. IT IS EVIDENT FROM EVEN A CURSORY READING THAT
THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS A VIRTUAL DEAD LETTER, ITS
PROVISIONS MADE INOPERATIVE DECADES AGO BY DPRK NON-
OBSERVANCE. IT IS AN EMPTY RELIC THAT NEED NOT BE REPLACED.

6. THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT CONTINUING MANIFESTATIONS OF THE
AGREEMENT IS THE ARMISTICE COMMISSION, WHICH THE NORTH
KOREANS HAVE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE BECAUSE THEY HAVE TURNED
IT INTO AN IDEOLOGICAL DRAMA IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES
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PLAYS THE STOCK ROLE OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSOR VILLAIN IN
ONE OF THE LONGEST RUNS IN MARXIST THEATRICAL HISTORY. THE
STERILE, RITUALIZED HOSTILITY OF THESE MEETINGS IS A
MAJOR PROPAGANDA AND UNITY-MAINTAINING ASSET FOR KIM IL-
SUNG BECAUSE IT PROVIDES A MECHANISM FOR A TINY NATION OF
13 MILLION TO SUMMON A SUPER POWER REGULARLY TO PANMUNJOM
AND THERE CONFRONT AND ABUSE IT WITH IMPUNITY.

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7. WE HAVE IN THE PAST ACCEPTED THIS SITUATION BECAUSE IT PROVIDED A POINT OF CONTACT WITH THE NORTH KOREANS. IT WAS OF VALUE TO US IN FACILITATING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PUEBLO CREW. THIS CHANNEL IS NO LONGER UNIQUE. IN THE SUMMER OF 1972, AS THE NORTH AND SOUTH BEGAN TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH EACH OTHER BEFORE AND AFTER THE JULY 4 COMMUNIQUE, IT LOOKED AS IF THE ARMISTICE COMMISSION MIGHT WITHER ON THE VINE. THE NORTH DID NOT ASK FOR A MEETING FOR OVER THREE MONTHS AND DURING THIS PERIOD INFORMAL DIRECT CONTACT AND THE HOT LINE WERE USED TO HANDLE MATTERS WHICH PREVIOUSLY HAD BEEN ARMISTICE COMMISSION BUSINESS.

8. IT HAS BEEN ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN THIS MORIBUND MECHANISM, LIKE THE EVEN MORE USELESS NEUTRAL NATIONS SUPERVISORY COMMISSION, PLAYS SOME INDEFINABLE BUT NONETHELESS IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE ON THE PENINSULA AND THEREFORE THAT IT SHOULD BE PRESERVED.

9. WE COULD DO SO AND STILL END THE U.N. PRESENCE IN KOREA BY TAKING THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF ACTIONS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO EITHER THE DPRK OR THE PRC.

A. D DAY - ROKG ANNOUNCES ITS ADHERENCE TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT.

B. D PLUS 2 - CINCUNC APPOINTS ROK MAJOR GENERAL AS SENIOR MEMBER OF THE ARMISTICE COMMISSION. U.S. BRIGADIER GENERAL ASSUMES SUBORDINATE POSITION SIMILAR TO PRC REPRESENTATIVE ON OTHER SIDE.

C. D PLUS 4 - CINCUNC ANNOUNCES THAT ROKG WILL HENCEFORTH ACT FOR HIM IN ALL MATTERS CONCERNED WITH THE ARMISTICE.
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D. D PLUS 6 - JCS INFORMS THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE FOREGOING ACTIONS AND STATES THAT IT IS RETURNING THE MANDATE TO TAKE COMMAND OF UNIFIED FORCES CONVEYED IN COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF JULY 7, 1950, AND THAT THE UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE IN KOREA HAS BEEN TERMINATED.

E. D PLUS 6 - ALL U.N. FLAGS IN KOREA ARE HAULED DOWN.

F. D PLUS 6 - WE CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO THE ARMISTICE TO PRESERVE THE PEACE AND WORK TOWARDS A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN PROBLEM.

10. THE NORTH KOREANS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PROTEST THAT THESE ACTIONS VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT. THEY HAVE CHARGED US WITH

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VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT IN EVERY MEETING SINCE 1953, SO NO SPECIAL NOTE NEED BE TAKEN. THE OBJECTIVE BASIS FOR THE CEASE-FIRE REMAINS UNAFFECTED. AMPLE CHANNELS EXIST FOR COMMUNICATION WITH THE DPRK. THE U.S. ACTION IS RESPONSIVE TO BOTH RESOLUTIONS ON KOREA APPROVED BY THE UNGA. THE SECURITY COUNCIL COULD HARDLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE RETURN OF THE MANDATE. MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD WOULD WELCOME THE REMOVAL OF THE ANNUAL DEVISIVE KOREAN FIXTURE FROM THE UNGA AGENDA.
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